

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOGADI 01064 071057Z

53

ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 DHA-02 /099 W

----- 037133

R 070946Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4011

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY SANA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOGADISCIO 1064

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PBOR, MPOL, SO, ET, FR

SUBJECT: SOMALIA, ETHIOPIA AND TFAI

1. WHILE SOMALIA'S PUBLIC POSITION ON DJIBOUTI HAS NOT CHANGED APPRECIABLY, IT SEEMS CLEAR TO US THAT THE GSDR NOW HAS A MUCH BETTER APPRECIATION THAN BEFORE OF THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION IN THE TERRITORY AND OF SOMALIA'S CAPABILITY TO ALTER THEM. UNTIL RECENTLY SIAD THOUGHT THAT HE HAD THE TERRITORY'S MOST POTENT POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, THE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE (LPAI), IN HIS POCKET. IF INDEED THIS EVER WAS THE CASE, IT STOPPED BEING SO WHEN THE LPAI CREPT OUT OF ITS SEMI-CLANDESTINE ROLE AND GAINED DISRESPECTABILITY FROM ITS DEALINGS WITH THE FRENCH AND, MORE RECENTLY, THE ETHIOPIANS.

2. DURING RECENT VISITS TO MOGADISCIO, LPAI LEADERS HASSAN GULAIID AND AHMED DINI REPORTEDLY RESISTED GSDR PRESSURE TO IDENTIFY THEIR ORGANIZATION MORE CLOSELY WITH SOMALI POLICIES AND ASPIRATIONS. THE ONLY CONCESSION OBTAINED AS A RESULT OF THAT PRESSURE WAS A VAGUE COMMITMENT FROM HASSAN TO INCLUDE THE GSDR-CONTROLLED FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE SOMALI COAST (FLCS) IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOGADI 01064 071057Z

FUTURE TALKS LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE. FOR ITS PART THE

GSDR PLEDGED TO RECOGNIZE THE TERRITORY UPON INDEPENDENCE
AND TO RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF ITS PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

3. THIS PLEDGE, OF COURSE, FALLS SOMEWHAT SHORT OF A
RENUNCIATION OF CLAIMS ON THE TERRITORY. PRACTICALLY
SPEAKING, HOWEVER, THIS GOVT CANNOT RENOUNCE SUCH CLAIMS
PUBLICLY AND STILL HOPE TO MAINTAIN TA RESPECT IT NEEDS
TO GOVERN DOMESTICALLY. THE REGIME IN ADDIS MUST REALIZE
THIS, TOO, WHICH LEADS US TO WONDER IF ITS DEMANDS THAT
SOMALIA FORMALLY DROP ITS CLAIMS ISN'T CALCULATED MORE TO
EMBARRASS THE SOMALIS THAN TO ASSURE THE INTEGRITY OF THE
TERRITORY.

4. NONE OF THIS IS TO SAY THAT THE SOMALIS HAVE FIRMLY
AND FINALLY, EVEN IF NOT PUBLICLY, ABANDONED HOPE OF ANNEX-
ING DJIBOUTI. IF SIAD IS EVER IN A POSITION TO ENFORCE HIS
INTERI
ETATION OF THE "ASPIRATIONS OF THE SOMALI COAST
PEOPLE", WE ARE CONFIDENT HE'LL WASTE NO TIME MOVING IN.
HE IS, HOWEVER, NOT IN THAT POSITION NOW AND IS NOT LIKELY
TO BE IN THAT POSITION IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS. DOMESTIC
CONCERNS -- THE NEW PARTY, THE ECONOMY, DISSIDENCE AMONG
RELIGIOUS FOLK, ETC. -- AS WELL AS EXTERNAL PRESSURES
(MAINLY THE SOVIETS) LIMIT SIAD'S FREEDOM TO MANEUVER. WE
SEE VIRTUALLY NO CHANCE OF AN OVERT SOMALI MILITARY MOVE
AGAINST THE TFAI. THIS SHOULD, NOT, HOWEVER, BE READ TO
IMPLY THE ABSENCE OF SOMALI-SOPONSORED AND-DIRECTED SUB-
VERSION -- PERHAPS ACCENTED WITH AN ACT OF TERRORISM HERE AND
AGAIN -- DURING THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD. WE EXPECT THAT
THE GSDR WILL INCREASE
EFFORTS TO PENETRATE AND WREST CONTROL
OF THE LPAI OR ITS SUCCESSOR IN THE NEW GOVT. HASSAN GULAIID
IS, AFTER ALL, AN OLD MAN AND A MOGADISCIO-MOLDED AGENT OR
TWO IN IS ORGANIZATION COULD WELL SPEED HIS POLITICAL OR EVEN
PHYSICAL DEMISE AND THEREAFTER DRASTICALLY ALTER THE MOVEMENT'S
ORIENTATION.

5. THERE DOES REMAIN, UNFORTUNATELY, THE DANGER OF AN
ACCIDENTAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THE SOMALIS AND ETHIOPIANS,
ESPECIALLY NOW WITH A SIGNIFICANT AMHAR FORCE DEPLOYED IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOGADI 01064 071057Z

THE BORDER REGIJF. WITH NEITHER ARMY NOTED FOR ITS DISCIPLINE,
THE CHANGE OF A SERIOUS INCIDENT OCCURRING INCREASES. MOREOVER,
WE BELIEVE THAT WITHIN THE SOMALI ARMY (AND, WE SUPPOSE, THE
ETHIOPIAN FORCE AS WELL) THERE MAY WELL BE OFFICERS WHO, FOR
THEIR OWN PURPOSES, MIGHT TOUCH OFF AN INCIDENT IN THE HOPE
OF EMBARRASSING (OR IMPRESSING) THEIR CHIEFS.

6. WE ALSO WORRY THAT THE EPMG'S PREDICTION OF WAR WITH

SOMALIA IN THE NEAR FUTURE MAY TURN OUT TO BE A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY. IF WAR DOES OCCUR AT ETHIOPIAN INITIATIVE, THE US SHOULD FIRMLY AND QUICKLY DISSOCIATE ITSELF FROM THE EPMG, PUBLICLY DENOUNCE THE ACT, TERMINATE ALL MILITARY AND ALL BUT HUMANITARIAN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND TAKE THE LEAD IN UN SECURITY COUNCIL EFFORTS TO HALT THE AGGRESSION.

7. COMMENT: PERHAPS A WAY TO FORESTALL SOMALI SUSPICIOUS AND DESIGNS WITH RESPECT TO DJIBOUTI IS TO CONVINCE THE GSDR THAT COUNTRIES OTHER THAN SOMALIA, ETHIOPIA AND FRANCE ARE INTERESTED IN THE FATE OF THE TERRITORY. DEMONSTRATIONS OF SUCH INTEREST WOULD BE PARTICULARLY EFFECTIVE COMING FROM EGYPT AND SAUDI ARABIA AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, THE YAR. AN ARAB DIPLOMATIC AND COMMERCIAL PRESENCE IN DJIBOUTI WOULD, WE BELIEVE, ACT AS AN IMPORTANT DISINCENTIVE TO GSDR-SPONSORED TURMOIL. SOMALIA, DESPITE ITS RADICAL IDEOLOGY AND RHETORIC, DOES NOT TREAT LIGHTLY WITH ARAB INTERESTS.

LOUGHRAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INDEPENDENCE, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, TERRITORIAL CLAIMS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: KelleyW0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOGADI01064
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760261-0555
From: MOGADISCIO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760781/aaaactqr.tel
Line Count: 135
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: KelleyW0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <22 APR 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <16 AUG 2004 by KelleyW0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOMALIA, ETHIOPIA AND TFAI
TAGS: PFOR, PBOR, MPOL, SO, ET, FR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006